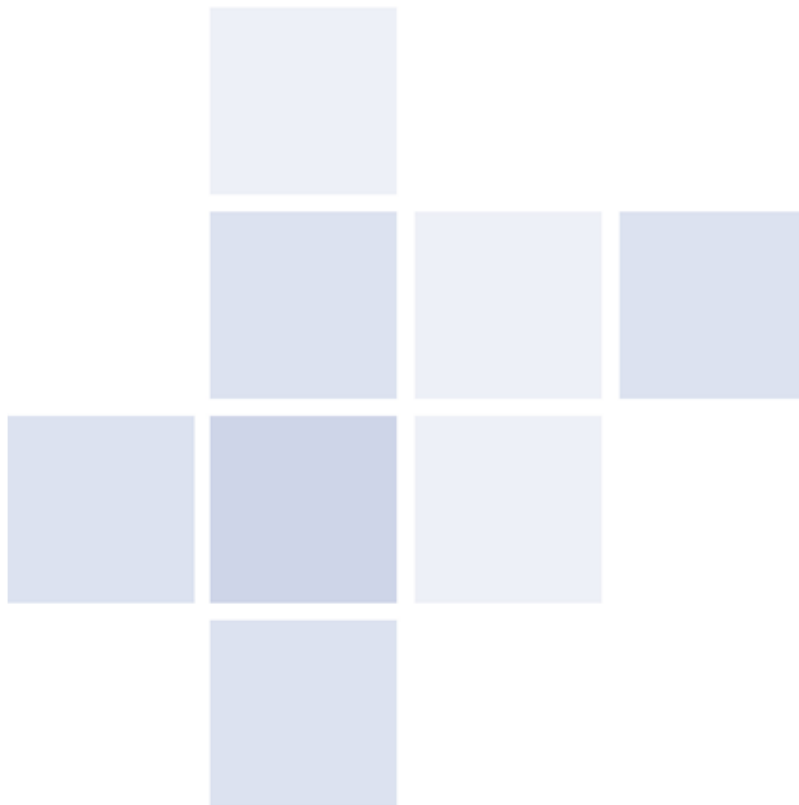




# American Neighborhood Change in the 21st Century

April 2019



**Section 1: Overview** 1

**Section 2: Methodology** 5

**Section 3: Neighborhood Change Across America** 17

## Section 1: Overview

For much of the 20th century, the pattern of neighborhood and population change in American metropolitan regions was simple and easy to see: wealth moved outwards towards the suburbs, while poverty grew within the city.

In the 21st century, regions are still changing. But the pattern of contemporary change is no longer simple, or easy to see. Growth at the urban periphery continues, but there is growth in the city, too. Poverty persists in the urban core, but poverty has also spread to the suburbs. It is often no longer clear what the primary challenges facing American regions are. In the absence a single, unifying trend, competing narratives about cities have sprung up.

The goal of this report is to reveal those 21st century patterns of metropolitan change and development. Broadly speaking, this report analyzes neighborhood change, at a census-tract and metropolitan level, between 2000 and 2016. Its analysis includes the entire United States but focuses on the 50 largest metropolitan areas. It has four objectives:

1. To compare **different types of neighborhood change**, in order to show which kinds are more or less common.
2. To compare **how different communities within each major metropolitan area are changing**.
3. To compare **how different metropolitan areas around the country are changing**, so that trends in one region can be accurately analogized to trends elsewhere in the United States.
4. To compare **the effects of neighborhood change on different groups**, so that the people most affected can be properly identified.

Answering these questions is necessary and worthwhile because neighborhood change has become a topic of overwhelming importance in metropolitan policy and politics, and a topic on which consensus can be hard to find.

To understand how this happened, it helps to step back in time to the middle of the previous century. In terms of population, economic importance, and political relevance, the major American city was at its zenith. But that would soon change. Burdened with segregation, deindustrialization, poverty, and crime, cities declined economically, often losing huge amounts of population. This was

particularly true in the nation's oldest and most industrialized cities, places like Philadelphia and Cleveland, where it was not uncommon to see population decline by a quarter, a half, or more over mid-century peaks. The middle class moved to the urban periphery, often relocating to racially segregated suburban enclaves outside the borders of major cities. In their wake, vast urban centers were sometimes left economically devastated, though still indispensably part of the metropolitan fabric.

There were, of course, variations on the theme. In the South and Southwest, many regions' populations didn't explode until the second half of the century, and, without a dense, aging city center, those entire regions took on the physical characteristics of sprawl. In some places population movement was channeled by civil rights conflict, particularly resistance to central city school desegregation. The minutiae of municipal governance played a role, too: when a region could easily fragment into dozens or hundreds of tiny cities, there was sometimes a greater ability for residents to "vote with their feet," accelerating flight and contributing to the rapid growth of second-ring and even exurban suburbs. However, the basic tendency, almost everywhere, was for wealth to flee outwards from a growing poverty in the center.

In the 21st century, several factors have combined to contort this straightforward narrative. First, in the last decades of the 20th century, the suburbs themselves began to undergo many of the population changes that had previously been observed in central cities. They grew more racially diverse and developed large amounts of poverty. Some began to suffer severe economic decay and even depopulation. These trends have continued to the present day. Second, some suburban sprawl was stalled by the mid-2000s housing crash and recession, which slowed outward growth. Finally, the urban core started to show sparks of life again. Although the original causes are contested, there could be no doubt that more people, wealth, and development were suddenly making their way back to urban quarters that had previously been ravaged by depopulation. And in some cities, that trickle became a torrent, with whole swaths of cities transformed in a matter of decades by a sort of economic renaissance.

Where does that leave American cities today? Few can agree. Because growth, gentrification, poverty, and decline can now be seen across the range of

community types, observers can find at least some evidence for almost any sweeping narrative they wish. Some scholars and advocates see recent developments as little more than a slight deviation, and argue the trends of the 20th century are still dominant. Others look at the changes of the last few decades and argue that they represent a total course modification—the emergence of a totally different paradigm of neighborhood change, and a wholly new set of urban problems. These debates are complicated by the fact that one’s perspective on neighborhood change seems to depend heavily on one’s politics, geographic location, and the precise focus of analysis. Observers in different cities are each getting a small window onto this new metropolitan world, but very few are getting the full picture.

The goal of this report is to provide the full picture, or at least a canvas on which the full picture can be drawn. In order to do that, it utilizes a newly developed model of neighborhood change, which captures both economic expansion and decline, and divides changing tracts based on whether they are experiencing growth, low-income displacement, low-income concentration, or abandonment. It applies this model to the entire United States at the census tract level. Results are tabulated in table form, including tables which compare metropolitan areas and central cities around the country. The report is accompanied by an online interactive map that compares the prevalence of the two most common types of change—poverty concentration and displacement—and allows scrutiny of individual tracts.

The bulk of the report takes the form of 50 individual city reports, one for each of the 50 largest metropolitan areas. The city reports each include color-coded maps and tables analyzing neighborhood change within particular cities and metropolitan regions. The city-specific tables describe the changes experienced by an array of demographic subgroups. Subgroups include those distinguished by race, educational attainment, economic status, age, family composition, immigration status, and housing unit type.

The purpose of this report is to provide a breadth of empirical data. It is not intended to settle or even address the complicated, often ideological questions about the desirability of various forms of neighborhood change, a topic that is the subject of passionate academic and political debate. For instance, while some

observers and many residents abhor gentrification as a harbinger of displacement, others note that gentrification might result in the integration of previously racially segregated areas, or create economic opportunity in areas where it had been scarce. Likewise, while there is a long tradition of lamenting poverty concentration as a dire problem for cities, some also dissent from that view, arguing that it primarily reflects hostility to low-income communities. Even economic and population growth, which scholars and analysts tend to see as an unalloyed positive, is regularly criticized by some communities.

These conflicts will not be resolved by this report. However, this report may help inform their resolution. Too often, responses to neighborhood change are developed in a factual vacuum. Policymakers and politicians know, from local analyses and firsthand reports, that changes are underway. But they lack the data to properly contextualize that information. What follows is much of that context.

## Section 2: Methodology

### Summary of Methodology

This report utilizes two variants of the same model throughout, both of which classify census tracts as economically expanding or declining. It primarily relies on a **strong model**, which identifies and classifies tracts with stronger changes. These areas are further subdivided into areas showing **growth, low-income displacement, poverty concentration, and abandonment**.

There is also a weak model, which classifies areas with **any indicators of neighborhood change**. This model provides a useful upper limit on neighborhood change phenomena, but is more error-prone because it is more sensitive to sampling error. This model is utilized less throughout the report, but tables showing its findings are included at several points and in the individual city and regional reports.

This section discusses how these models function, the rationale for their various components, and some comparative strengths and weaknesses of this approach.

### The Strong Neighborhood Change Model

This report uses data from the 2000 U.S. Census and the 2016 American Community Survey (5-year) to classify all United States census tracts by the type of neighborhood change they have experienced in the 21st century. The model used in this report initially classifies changing neighborhoods into one of two categories: economically expanding or economically declining. Economically expanding neighborhoods are those that have experienced changes consistent with growth, gentrification, and economic strengthening. Economically declining neighborhoods are those that have experienced changes consistent with impoverishment, disinvestment, and poverty intensification. Not all neighborhoods are deemed to have experienced a change; some are unclassified in this metric.

In order to classify individual tracts, this report observes changes in the population of low-income and non-low-income individuals, between 2000 and 2016. Low-income individuals are defined as those below 200 percent of the

federal poverty line, and non-low-income individuals are the remainder of the population.

Most of this report uses a **strong model**, which incorporates numerical cutoffs as a condition for neighborhood classification.

A tract is classified as **strongly economically expanding** if:

1. The absolute number of non-low-income individuals increased by more than 10 percent between 2000 and 2016.
2. The population share of low-income individuals declined by more than 5 percentage points between 2000 and 2016.

Likewise, a tract is classified as **strongly economically declining** if:

1. The absolute number of non-low-income individuals declined by more than 10 percent between 2000 and 2016.
2. The population share of low-income individuals increased by more than 5 percentage points between 2000 and 2016.

Each of the two conditions serves a particular purpose. The first condition, which focuses on change in the absolute number of non-low-income people in an area, acts as an indicator of the desirability of an area. This group represents an economic stratum which has sufficient income, in the vast majority of metropolitan areas, to have a wide array of choices of where to live. As a result, an increase of members of this group in a particular area indicates that demand for housing in that area is likely expanding rather than declining.

The second condition, which focuses on changing low-income population share in area, acts as an indicator of the overall economic trajectory of an area. It tests whether the overall economic trajectory aligns with demand, as indicated by the first condition. This is necessary because there are circumstances where the two phenomena may not align.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> For instance, it is conceivable that the number of non-low-income individuals within an area's borders could increase, while the area's population gets poorer overall. This could indicate a variety of types of neighborhood change that are not easily classified, such as a massive population influx into an underdeveloped area. Alternatively, it is plausible that the number of non-low-income individuals in area could decrease, while the area's population gets wealthier overall. Once again, this change is not easily classified, although it will occur in situations where



The percentage cutoffs were implemented after examining the distribution of changes in non-low-income population and low-income population share across all U.S. census tracts. They are intended to serve several purposes. First, they ensure that the changes being observed are real and substantial, as will be discussed further below. Second, the strong model's percentage cutoffs mean that it is more sensitive to changes in mixed-income neighborhoods, and less sensitive to changes in neighborhoods with very high or very low shares of low-income individuals.<sup>2</sup> In this respect, the strong model more aggressively classifies changes in very mixed areas. In this regard, it reflects the approach of some two-step models of gentrification, which first determine whether a neighborhood is "gentrifiable" before determining whether it did, in fact, gentrify. However, because the model's sensitivity changes along a sliding scale, no neighborhood is artificially omitted from the analysis. The two-step approaches will be further addressed below.

### **The Weak Neighborhood Change Model**

The strong model classifies neighborhoods with significant changes, and frequently reflects popular conceptions of where neighborhood change is occurring. However, it uses 5 and 10 percent cutoffs that have been selected semi-arbitrarily. Although these cutoffs were selected after observing the distribution of changes across all neighborhoods, there is no "correct" level after which a neighborhood can be deemed changing. For instance, there is no practical difference between a neighborhood with a 4.9 percent increase in low-income population share, and a neighborhood with a 5.1 percent increase. As a result, if

---

individuals from both income categories are leaving a neighborhood, but lower incomes are leaving more quickly.

<sup>2</sup> This characteristic arises because, as low-income population share approaches 0 percent or 100 percent, respectively, it becomes harder to meet the 5 percent cutoff for change in low-income population share. For instance, in a neighborhood 1000 residents, 100 of whom are low-income, the non-low-income population must increase by 1000 people to reduce the low-income population share by 5 percent. But in a neighborhood with 1000 residents, 800 of whom are low-income, the non-low-income population must increase by only 66 people to meet the 5 percent cutoff. In the case of neighborhoods with declining non-low-income population, the same dynamic works in reverse: places with small low-income populations must see a very large non-low-income population decline in order to meet the 5 percent cutoff.

some areas fall just below a cutoff, they may be inappropriately omitted from the analysis.

In order to provide a broader picture, this report also periodically includes a weak model, which omits the cutoffs and classifies neighborhoods with any indicators of change at all. It is used to establish upper bounds of estimates of neighborhood change, and classifies a much larger number of overall neighborhoods. However, it is likely oversensitive to small changes and more prone to error, as will be discussed below.

The weak model classifies a tract as **showing indicators of economic expansion** if it satisfies two conditions:

1. The absolute number of non-low-income individuals increased between 2000 and 2016.
2. The population share of low-income individuals declined between 2000 and 2016.

Likewise, the weak model tract classifies as **showing indicators of economic decline** if it experiences the opposite conditions:

1. The absolute number of non-low-income individuals declined between 2000 and 2016.
2. The population share of low-income individuals increased between 2000 and 2016.

The weak model is useful for a specific purpose, which is capturing the full scope of neighborhood change represented in the data to any degree—effectively, placing an upper bound on the extent of change experienced in a given geography. However, for any other purpose, caution is advised before using the figures produced by the weak model, for three reasons. First, in some instances it classifies neighborhoods with very minor net demographic changes, likely imperceptible to residents, as expanding or declining. Second, it exacerbates the problem of sampling error. This report relies on U.S. Census data, which is survey data with margins of error. The strong model's cutoffs ameliorate this problem: if a tract satisfies the cutoff conditions, the direction of the change, if not the degree, is likely to be accurately represented by the model's classification. However, in the weak model, mere statistical noise is often sufficient to reverse a

neighborhood’s trajectory; i.e., to result in a neighborhood being classified declining when it is in fact expanding. The third reason to be wary of the weak model is that, without the cutoffs, changes in mixed-income, very wealthy, or very poor neighborhoods are treated as equivalent.

**Growth, Low-Income Displacement, Low-Income Concentration, and Abandonment**

After the initial classification of tracts as economically expanding or declining, tracts in the strong model are also placed into one of four groups, based on low-income population change within the tract. This was done because the bulk of policy and popular concern about neighborhood change focuses on its effect on low-income individuals and families. Although neighborhood change affects all residents, low incomes are more vulnerable to outside pressures.

This second layer of categorization relies on changes in low-income population between 2000 and 2016. If a tract is economically expanding and the low-income population in that neighborhood has grown, it is categorized as a **growth** tract. If a tract is economically expanding and the low-income population has shrunk, it is categorized as a **low-income displacement** tract. If a tract is economically declining and the low-income population has grown, it is categorized as a **low-income concentration** tract. Finally, if a tract is economically declining and the low-income population has shrunk, it is categorized as an **abandonment** tract. This schema is represented in grid form below. Throughout this report, and in the maps accompanying this report, the four-color scheme from the grid is used to represent the change categories, in order to compare the scale of changes.

	Tract is economically expanding	Tract is economically declining
Tract has low-income population growth	Growth	Low-income concentration
Tract has low-income population decline	Low-income displacement	Abandonment

It should be noted that, since the categories here rely on tract-level observations in 2000 and 2016, rather than observations of individual homeowners, they will necessarily simplify the process of neighborhood change and economic transition within any individual tract. Non-longitudinal tract-level data cannot distinguish between individuals who left a tract versus individuals whose economic circumstances have changed. To illustrate with a hypothetical, imagine a tract where everyone lived in exactly the same units between 2000 and 2016, and no new residents arrived. If economic expansion within that tract lifts many of its residents out of poverty over the same period, the growth in the number of non-low-income individuals and accompanying drop in the number of low-income individuals would result in the tract being categorized as having experienced low-income displacement, despite, by definition, no displacement occurring. Put differently, the categories here tend to assume that the economic status of residents is stable over time, though of course they often are not.

While this is unquestionably a limitation of the classification system used by this report, its effect is, in practice, somewhat muted somewhat by the reality that economic mobility is bidirectional, meaning that some individual-level shifts across the low-income boundary will cancel each other out. Moreover, there is a high degree of residential mobility among Americans, and the tendency to move from a home increases at lower income levels. Studies of residential mobility suggest that the typical low-income family would be likely to relocate several times in a 15-year period.<sup>3</sup> And if any relocation occurs, the resulting demographic configuration can be fairly attributed to residential mobility, even if there are subsequent changes to socioeconomic status as well.

One other caveat should be made. Because tract-level Census data only shows *net* change over time, it is possible for multiple neighborhood change processes to be underway at once in a tract, either in parallel or sequentially; the tract's ultimate categorization would depend on which trend was more common. For instance, it is possible that many low-income families are displaced by high rents in a tract

---

<sup>3</sup> Some studies have suggested that American household relocate every five years. *See, e.g.,* David K. Ihrke, Carol S. Faber, and William K. Koerber, *Geographical Mobility: 2008 to 2009*, U.S. CENSUS (2012). Other studies have drilled down on lower incomes; one report found that 45 percent of poor families move within a two-year period. Robin Phinney, *Exploring Residential Mobility Among Low-Income Families*, 87 SOC. SERVICE REV. 780, 792 (2013).

that is also adding large numbers of new low-income residents. If the latter number exceeds the former, however, it will be categorized, for the purposes of this report, as a growth tract. In other words, the broad classification of a tract is not meant to deny the existence of other dynamics within the tract, but merely represent the prevailing trajectory of the tract's evolution.

### **Discussion of Neighborhood Change Model**

Like any analytic approach, the models used in this report have strengths and weaknesses. Readers should bear in mind that no single measurement can capture the near-infinite dimensions of neighborhood change, across all economic, demographic, physical, and temporal dimensions. With that said, this report endeavors to create a system for discussing and measuring neighborhood change that provides the maximum amount of useful information, in the appropriate context, and with methods that are relatively easy for policymakers, academics, and laypeople to understand.

The major analytical challenge for this report was to create models that could both be applied universally to many places, and capture, in a relatively symmetric fashion, multiple forms of neighborhood change.

To date, most studies of neighborhood change have focused on a single dimension (typically economic decline or gentrification), and left other types of changes unobserved and undiscussed. As a result, while analysts could speak to the particulars of one kind of neighborhood change, they often struggled to compare different kinds of change against one another. Among urban policy circles, debate could grow intense between those who felt gentrification was the primary problem facing American cities, and those who felt the more traditional concerns of segregation, economic decline, and poverty should remain the top priority.

There is some irony attendant to this debate, because different forms of neighborhood change are clearly interwoven. People who leave one neighborhood have to go somewhere else; if displacement is making one area richer, it is probably making another area poorer, or at least, concentrating existing poverty. Neighborhood change isn't just about one specific neighborhood, but about population flows across a region. This reality was recognized early on: Peter Marcuse, in his seminal academic writing about

gentrification, explicitly positioned it as complementary to urban poverty, not an alternative.<sup>4</sup> But some contemporary studies skim over this idea.

If focusing on a single form of neighborhood change provides an incomplete picture, so does focusing on a single type of political geography. Some studies of neighborhood change—again, primarily gentrification—have restricted their analysis to the central city, and dropped suburban and exurban communities from their data. While this comports with popular conceptions of gentrification as a phenomenon of the urban core, it is hard to justify on empirical grounds. Housing markets and migration patterns are regional in nature. The boundaries dividing central cities and suburbs are jurisdictional, not geographic, demographic, or cultural. Both types of municipality evolve in concert, and changes in one both affect and mirror changes in the other. Moreover, the city-suburb distinction varies dramatically from region to region. In some places, particularly the South and Southwest, the central city constitutes the vast majority of regional population, with most outlying development annexed into that municipality. In other places, like the Northeast or Midwest the central city is large and dense, and completely landlocked by aging inner-ring suburbs. And in some regions, such as Buffalo or Hartford, the central city is small and constitutes a very small fraction of the total population. Equating all central cities to each other makes coherent comparison impossible; one would be comparing apples to oranges.

Prior studies of gentrification have limited their scope in another way: by adopting a two-step methodology that first asks whether a neighborhood is even eligible for gentrification.<sup>5</sup> For instance, one such condition is to consider any neighborhood where home prices are below a certain level. After those “gentrifiable” areas are determined, each is checked for signs of gentrification.

---

<sup>4</sup> Peter Marcuse, *Gentrification, Abandonment, and Displacement*, 28 J. URBAN & CONTEMPORARY L. 195 (1985).

<sup>5</sup> Notable recent examples of studies using this two-step method include Jason Richardson, Bruce Mitchell, and Juan Franco, *Shifting Neighborhoods: Gentrification and Cultural Displacement in American Cities*, National Community Reinvestment Coalition (2019); Mike Maciag, *Gentrification in America*, GOVERNING.COM (2015). Both studies restrict their analysis to a limited set of gentrifiable tracts. While the findings of the more-recent NCRC report largely align with the findings of this report within that limited set of tracts, that report, as a consequence of its methodology, ignores most census tracts. The Governing.com report, by comparison, is less well-aligned with the findings of this study.

Neighborhoods that are considered “ungentrifiable” are typically omitted from the analysis. This approach reflects the traditional definition of gentrification as a process that specifically affects lower-income areas.

Two-step methodologies are popular, but have serious deficiencies. To begin with, they position gentrification as a unique, *sui generis* form of neighborhood change, separable from parallel changes in slightly wealthier areas. But if it is troubling when economic expansion drives low-income displacement in a poor neighborhood, why is it any less troubling when economic expansion displaces low-income people in wealthier areas? Second, a two-step approach increases the number of arbitrary conditions a neighborhood must meet in order to be observed, which in turn increases the arbitrariness and noise in a model’s output. For instance, consider a region with a relatively even distribution of wealth, like Portland. If the distribution is such that many tracts lie above the “gentrifiability” cutoff, the region will be largely safe from gentrification in a two-step analysis. However, if the distribution is such that many tracts lie immediately below the cutoff, huge swaths of the region will be vulnerable to gentrification. Meanwhile, the gentrifiability of a region with stark geographic income divides will be relatively stable no matter where the exact cutoff is drawn. These kinds of nuances can introduce unacceptable levels of essentially-random variability into results. Finally, two-step approaches pose serious interpretive difficulties, especially for comparative purposes. It is unclear whether the appropriate comparison is the percentage of neighborhoods overall that gentrified, or the percentage of eligible neighborhoods. But comparisons using each metric can produce dramatically different results. For instance, some studies have suggested that Minneapolis has few tracts eligible for gentrification, but a relatively high number of tracts have gentrified. It is possible to look at those studies and determine Minneapolis is a high-gentrification city, despite comparatively few residents living in economically expanding neighborhoods.

The models used in this report have been designed to avoid the pitfalls described above. They are bidirectional, measuring neighborhood economic expansion with one metric and then simply reversing that metric to measure neighborhood economic decline. They also make no attempt to limit the geography being analyzed, in order to provide a complete picture of the entire tapestry of neighborhood change throughout a region. Their classifications depend entirely

on relative change within a tract itself from the beginning of the period, and do not rely in any respect on metropolitan or national averages, thus limiting the number of arbitrary cutoffs or moving parts that can distort results. And they avoid two-step approaches. A neighborhood's classification is made in a single step without any eligibility criteria.

This report's models were also designed with an eye towards simplicity and transparency. In some studies of gentrification, analysts have deployed complex multifactorial models that determine whether a tract has changed by combining a wide range of statistics related to demography, housing values, and economic stability.<sup>6</sup> But multifactorial models are hard to use effectively. First, they can serve as "black boxes" into which data is fed, and a result is spit out. The sheer number of factors, and the complexity of the algorithms required to layer them, means that unusual or improbable results are difficult to trust. Observers may have little choice but to simply accept the result of the model. Second, multifactorial models serve to collapse important distinctions between neighborhoods. Observed results could be the product of changes along any number of dimensions, and thus it can be hard to say which areas with a particular observed result are, in fact, similar.

The models used in this report rely entirely on a single set of numbers: the number of low-income and non-low-income individuals in a tract, in 2000 and 2016. This eliminates the problems that hound multifactorial approaches. For instance, however they differ, it can be said with certainty that any two tracts that are classified the same by this report's model have seen analogous changes in their low-income and non-low-income population. Moreover, when outliers or unusual results do emerge, it is a simple matter to look at the underlying data and figure out exactly what cause the discrepancy.

In addition to easing the burden of interpretation, the relative simplicity of the models used in this report facilitate comparison. Because tracts are being analyzed through a tightly focused lens, there is less concern that intra- or inter-regional comparative statistics will omit some essential dimension of difference.

---

<sup>6</sup> The NCRC and Governing.com studies described above, *supra* note 10, combine tests of median home value, median household income, and the percentage of college graduates in a tract. Other studies incorporate further dimensions of data, most typically racial statistics.



Finally, the simplicity of the models make them comprehensible to relative laypeople—after all, policymakers and residents need information about neighborhood change as much as scholars do—and easy for third parties to replicate, extend, or double-check.

However, while the merits of the models used in this report are considerable, it is important to acknowledge that they, like all methodologies, also have shortcomings and tradeoffs. These are primarily connected to the limitations of the data sources, which are the U.S. Census Long Form and American Community Surveys.

First, because U.S. Census data is provided at the neighborhood level, not the individual level, it cannot provide detailed data into the experiences of individuals. In other words, while this report can say with some confidence how an area has grown, shrunk, or evolved over time, it cannot track the movement of specific people or families between areas. Demographics can provide some clues about migration patterns – e.g., if one area is losing a large amount of population from a particular demographic group, and another area is gaining population from that same group, it’s probably safe to assume those trends are related. But this report cannot provide insight into migration patterns at a higher level of detail, such as if many people are moving to a specific neighborhood from another specific neighborhood.

Second, because this report only measures neighborhoods at the beginning and end of the 16-year period, but not during the period, it cannot track successive waves of in-movers and out-movers. In the context of gentrification, this is sometimes known as “chain displacement”—several successive waves of displacement from the same gentrifying housing unit or units. It is perfectly conceivable (if unlikely) for a neighborhood to experience 100 percent population turnover in the 16-year period measured by this study, and yet show no change at all in the Census data, if the in-movers are demographically identical to the out-movers. As a consequence, the changes described in this report must be understood as net change within a census tract, not total change. Without longitudinal data, it is impossible to measure the total amount of “churn” within a tract’s population; thus, the total number of people affected by low-income concentration or displacement may be much higher than the net change suggests.

Third, as discussed in the section on the weak model, above, the U.S. Census data is survey data, and contains sample error. While the sample error shrinks rapidly when results from many tracts are combined, it can be quite high in individual census tracts. As a result, it is best not to overfocus on outlier tracts, particularly if inspection of the changes in that tract reveals numbers that seem implausible. They may well be a statistical artifact.

The authors of this report are keenly aware of the limitations described above. But on balance, they stand behind this report's methodological approach, for at least four reasons.

First, any blind spots must be weighed against the advantages described above.

Second, while many of the limitations are a consequence of only being able to observe net population change instead of total change, net change is still important, from a policymaking perspective. Net change does not encapsulate every challenge faced by residents on the ground, but it is what determines the overall demographic trajectory of a neighborhood. If more people leave than arrive, the neighborhood is shrinking. If more of the new arrivals are low-income than the departing residents, the neighborhood is getting poorer. When people observe that a neighborhood is shifting over time, they are more likely to be referring to net demographic changes than individual changes.

Third, to the extent the limitations are rooted in the limitations of U.S. Census data, they are shared by most other analyses attempting to accomplish a similar objective. The vast majority of studies analyzing neighborhood change take place at the tract level, rely on the U.S. Census, and mirror this report's basic approach of comparing changes between a start year and an end year. Without better data, there is simply no circumventing these problems.

Finally, while it is plausible that the shortcomings of this report's model could undermine the integrity of its results, careful reading of the output suggests that, in practice, they do not. Of course, a model should not be evaluated entirely based on whether its output *looks* correct. But it would be troubling if the output bore no resemblance to reality—if, for instance, this report's methodology suggested there was more poverty concentration in San Francisco than Cleveland, or more displacement in Newark than Brooklyn. Instead, both within regions and between them, this report's results tend to reflect the experiences of anecdotal

observers on the ground. That is not to say there are no surprises in the data, but that those surprises have more to do with scale and proportion of neighborhood change, rather than completely invert popular wisdom. This is at least a partial indicator that this model and ground-level observers are measuring similar things.

## Section 3: Neighborhood Change Across America

At the very core of this report is a question that has hounded metropolitan policy for decades: are gentrification and displacement the predominant feature of the American urban fabric? Have they supplanted poverty and neighborhood decline as the primary obstacle to the vitality of cities?

The answer, according to metrics described above, is “no,” or at least “not yet” — with some qualifications.

Across all the measures devised in this report, one fact remains true: in America’s regions, substantially more residents are living in areas that have faced economic decline than have experienced economic expansion.

Using the most inclusive measure available (the “weak model” described in Section II), only 22 percent of metropolitan residents live in an economically expanding area, compared to the 41 percent in declining areas. Moreover, this broad measure includes many neighborhoods which have experienced relatively marginal changes. Using the more robust “strong model,” the discrepancy is even greater: only 8 percent of residents live in areas with strong economic expansion, while 22 percent live in areas that have undergone strong decline. Regardless of the measure used, low-income and black residents are significantly more likely than the population at large to be located in areas that have experienced decline.

Nonetheless, gentrification and displacement are significant concerns in many cities and regions. Most central cities include at least a small number of economically expanding neighborhoods where strong displacement is underway. In a few cities, displacement affects as many or more people than are affected by concentration or abandonment. However, the evidence suggests that it is a mistake to classify gentrification-driven displacement as an endemic or universal problem. Instead, displacement is clustered both geographically and by region. It is far more common in central cities than in other community types, where nearly 11 percent of residents live in a neighborhood that has experienced displacement, compared to 3 percent of residents in suburbs. It is also far more common in a handful of regions, especially economically thriving cities on the east coast and in California.

This data suggests that, among central cities, Washington, D.C., has experienced the nation's worst gentrification trend, with nearly 36 percent of its entire population living in an area where strong displacement is underway. On a regional basis, Los Angeles is experiencing the worst gentrification, and is the only metropolitan area in the nation where a significantly larger share of the population lives in census tracts with strong displacement than in census tracts with low-income concentration (15 percent to 10 percent, respectively). On a regional scale, New York, New Orleans, and San Diego also face severe displacement challenges.

Outside of these limited examples, however, it is comparatively unusual to find a central city, much less a region, where 10 percent or more of the population lives in an area experiencing displacement.

By comparison, in the top 50 largest metropolitan areas, low-income concentration is almost universally commonplace. There are only two regions—the Boston and Washington metros—in which less than 10 percent of the population lives in an area with strong low-income concentration. In 18 metros, by contrast, a quarter or more of regional population lives in an area with strong concentration.

As might be expected, the worst low-income concentration is found in the aging and economically declining cities and regions of the Midwest—the “Rust Belt.” In the Detroit region, 49 percent of the entire population lives in an area that has undergone low-income concentration. Other regions with similarly lopsided concentration include Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago, Memphis, and Milwaukee.

Underneath this topline finding, there is a large amount of additional complexity and variation. The remainder of this section will compare neighborhood change along three dimensions: by community type, between regions, and by population subgroup.

## Neighborhood Change in Central Cities and Suburbs

- Central city neighborhoods are more likely to have experienced strong change than suburban neighborhoods.
- Overall, however, the suburbs are the site of most neighborhood change.
- By far the most common form of neighborhood change is low-income concentration. In the 50 largest metros, tracts that have experienced strong low-income concentration include about 36.5 million people, and are predominantly suburban.
- Tracts that have experienced low-income displacement contain about 9.5 million people, and are predominantly located in central cities.

As of 2016, the total population of America's 50 largest metro areas was about 176 million people. Of those, 53 million, or about 30 percent, lived in census tracts experiencing strong neighborhood change of any description.

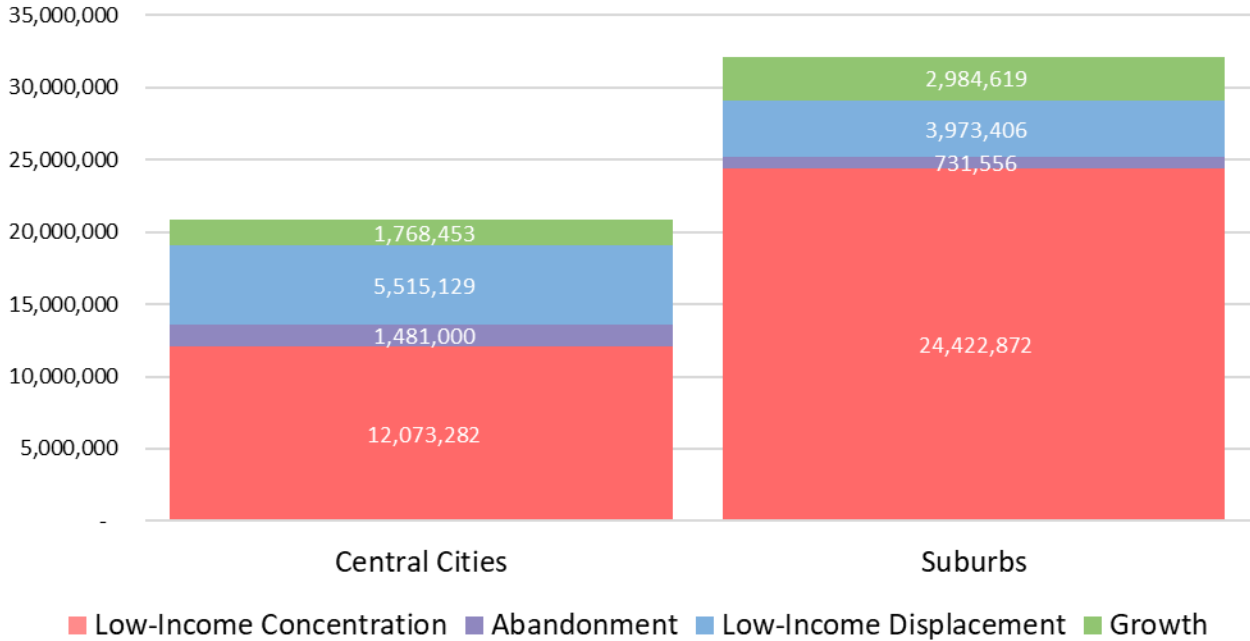
Neighborhood change was most common in the central cities, which accounted for 29 percent of the overall metropolitan population. In central cities, over 41 percent of residents lived in a neighborhood experiencing strong change, compared to 26 percent of suburban residents. However, this does not mean neighborhood change is primarily a central city phenomenon, or that suburban areas should be understood to be static. Because the suburbs account for a vastly greater portion of population share, three-fifths of strongly changing census tracts in the 50 largest regions were in a suburban area.

The population of neighborhoods experiencing growth, low-income displacement, low-income concentration, and abandonment was tabulated across the 50 largest metropolitan areas. In addition, tracts in central cities and in suburbs were tabulated separately. The results are displayed in Chart 1, below, which provides an overview of how metropolitan Americans are experiencing neighborhood change.

Far and away the most common form of change is low-income concentration, which impacted areas containing 36 million people in 2016. The next-most common form is low-income displacement, impacting areas where about 9.5 million people live. More than 4.7 million individuals lived in tracts experiencing overall growth across the income spectrum. Finally, neighborhood abandonment

was comparatively rare, though it still affects slightly more than 2 million residents. While the majority of people in areas experiencing low-income concentration and growth are suburban residents, the majority of people in areas undergoing displacement and abandonment lived in central cities.

Chart 1: 2016 Population of Neighborhoods Experiencing Strong Change (50 Largest Metros)



Even in these summary statistics, an important fact about American neighborhood change reveals itself: the suburbs have seen a wave of low-income concentration, by far the most common category of change. In the 50 largest metropolitan regions alone, over 24 million people are living in concentrating suburban neighborhoods—about one-seventh of the entire population of those regions. Despite this, suburban poverty only receives a fraction of the political or media attention that urban gentrification or displacement receives. This finding suggests that the suburbs of major cities are experiencing, counterintuitively, some of the most overlooked changes in America. Though suburban areas are often conceived as static, permanent enclaves of wealth, economic decline is in fact a powerful suburban concern.

Several other notable observations can be made using this summary data. For instance, it suggests that while gentrification is much less frequently a problem than neighborhood economic decline, low-income displacement does stubbornly remain a significant issue. Over 9.4 million people live in economically expanding tracts that have experienced low-income displacement, and of course, the low-income population of those areas (though not necessarily the overall population) was greater still before the displacement occurred.

The range of communities affected by these problems is also wider than is typically understood. Displacement and gentrification are often described as central city phenomena, so much so that some studies omit suburban tracts altogether. This data suggests that the majority of low-income displacement is indeed occurring in central cities—but that this is by no means exclusively the case. Instead, about 4 million people live in suburban areas with the markers of low-income displacement. If suburban low-income concentration is overlooked, suburban displacement is completely invisible in the popular discourse.

Finally, the relative infrequency of neighborhood abandonment is an important finding. Neighborhood abandonment is associated with the kind of comprehensive urban decay that many cities experienced in the late 20th century—in many places, the seeming endpoint of a process of disinvestment and segregation. Although it is generally not the purpose of this report to make qualitative judgments about the desirability of one kind of neighborhood change compared to other types, abandonment might be understood as the “worst” type of change, at least for the cities themselves—outright depopulation, leaving empty homes, deserted streets, and ruined tax bases in its wake. Many cities suffer from a small degree of abandonment, and, as will be discussed below, the trend is widespread in a few areas. But overall, abandonment is uncommon compared to other strong forms of change, suggesting that most regions face problems that are more complex, less dramatic, and perhaps more reversible.



## Neighborhood Change by Region

- Low-income displacement is more commonplace than low-income concentration only in a minority of economically thriving cities, particularly on the east coast and in California.
- Southern cities have a disproportionate share of neighborhoods experiencing overall growth.
- Midwestern cities have a disproportionate share of concentration and abandonment.
- There is more variation between central cities than there is between regions.

Neighborhood change varies moderately between regions. Table 2 summarizes the regional distribution of neighborhood change types, by percentage of 2016 population living in neighborhood that have experienced each type since 2000.

By and large, at the regional level, low-income concentration is the dominant trend. In 26 of the 50 largest metropolitan areas, more than one-fifth of the population lives in a neighborhood that has experienced low-income concentration. In the very poor regions of Memphis and Cleveland, that share increases to over two-fifths; in the Detroit region, about half the population lives in a neighborhood that has undergone concentration.

In a handful of regions, economic expansion and decline have been experienced more evenly. In Austin, New York, San Antonio, San Diego, and Virginia Beach, a comparable share of residents live in strongly expanding areas and strongly declining areas. There are also two regions in which a larger share of residents live in expanding areas than declining areas: Los Angeles and Washington. Los Angeles, on the regional level, also has the nation's worst displacement—it is the only region where more residents live in areas that have experienced low-income displacement than low-income concentration.

**Table 3: 2016 Population Distribution by Neighborhood Change Trajectory, 2000-2016  
(by region)**

	Growth	Low-Income Displacement	Abandonment	Low-Income Concentration		Growth	Low-Income Displacement	Abandonment	Low-Income Concentration
Atlanta	2%	3%	1%	23%	Minneapolis	1%	1%	1%	23%
Austin	5%	6%	0%	11%	Nashville	1%	3%	1%	19%
Baltimore	1%	7%	1%	12%	New Orleans	1%	10%	5%	19%
Birmingham	2%	3%	5%	27%	New York	2%	11%	1%	14%
Boston	1%	6%	0%	9%	Oklahoma City	5%	8%	1%	17%
Buffalo	0%	3%	3%	28%	Orlando	3%	1%	1%	24%
Charlotte	3%	1%	0%	23%	Philadelphia	1%	5%	2%	22%
Chicago	1%	3%	3%	34%	Phoenix	7%	1%	1%	32%
Cincinnati	1%	2%	2%	35%	Pittsburgh	1%	8%	2%	17%
Cleveland	1%	1%	5%	43%	Portland	2%	6%	0%	14%
Columbus	2%	2%	2%	29%	Providence	1%	4%	0%	17%
Dallas	4%	2%	1%	25%	Raleigh	4%	2%	1%	12%
Denver	2%	4%	0%	22%	Richmond	2%	4%	1%	15%
Detroit	1%	0%	5%	49%	Riverside	7%	4%	1%	15%
Hartford	1%	3%	0%	18%	Sacramento	2%	4%	0%	28%
Houston	7%	6%	1%	17%	Saint Louis	1%	3%	3%	27%
Indianapolis	1%	1%	3%	35%	Salt Lake City	5%	3%	1%	17%
Jacksonville	6%	3%	2%	24%	San Antonio	7%	6%	0%	13%
Kansas City	2%	1%	2%	31%	San Diego	2%	10%	0%	13%
Las Vegas	3%	0%	2%	34%	San Francisco	2%	6%	0%	12%
Los Angeles	3%	15%	1%	10%	San Jose	2%	3%	0%	14%
Louisville	1%	4%	2%	23%	Seattle	3%	5%	0%	10%
Memphis	3%	2%	5%	40%	Tampa	5%	2%	1%	26%
Miami	3%	3%	1%	25%	Virginia Beach	3%	9%	0%	11%
Milwaukee	1%	1%	2%	36%	Washington DC	3%	8%	0%	8%

Brighter colors indicate a larger share of regional population. Growth and displacement areas have experienced economic expansion, as indicated by a large increase in non-low-income population and decrease in poverty rate. Abandonment and concentration areas have experienced economic decline, as indicated by a large increase in non-low-income population and increase in poverty rate.

Data: U.S. Census.

At the regional level, neighborhood abandonment remains quite rare, typically afflicting no more than two or three percentage points of total population. The few exceptions—Birmingham, Cleveland, Detroit, Memphis, and New Orleans—are all regions with relatively large African-American populations and ugly histories of severe segregation, highlighting an apparent connection between neighborhood abandonment and the scars of housing discrimination.

Regional variation in neighborhood change, however, pales in comparison to inter-city variation. Table 2 summarizes the distribution of neighborhood change

in central cities in the largest 50 metropolitan areas, by percentage of 2016 population living in neighborhood that have experienced each change type since 2000.

It should be immediately apparent that cities face a far greater diversity of changes than regions as a whole. In a number of cities, the vast majority of people live in economically declining areas experiencing low-income concentration or abandonment, while virtually no one lives in economically expanding areas. In some cities, nearly half the population, or more, live in areas that have undergone low-income concentration, including Akron, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit, Indianapolis, Las Vegas, Memphis, and Milwaukee. In Cleveland and Detroit, 24 percent and 30 percent of the population lives in an area suffering abandonment, respectively.

On the flip side, there are also many central cities where the bulk of change has been economic expansion producing overall growth or low-income displacement. These places include Atlanta, Boston, Long Beach, Los Angeles, New York City, Norfolk, San Diego, San Francisco, Seattle, and Washington, D.C.

In some central cities, low-income displacement has been a significant trend. Cities where more than 10 percent of the population lives in areas that have undergone strong low-income displacement include Atlanta, Austin, Baltimore, Boston, Denver, Hartford, Houston, Long Beach, Los Angeles, New Orleans, New York City, Norfolk, Oakland, Philadelphia, Portland, Providence, Saint Louis, San Diego, San Francisco, Santa Ana, Seattle, Virginia Beach, and Washington, D.C. Notably, these are not necessarily places without severe decline or low-income concentration—instead, displacement and concentration sometimes appear in close proximity to one another, such as in Philadelphia, St. Louis, New Orleans, and Baltimore. This may reflect an intensification of racial and economic segregation within the city proper, as individuals displaced from a set of gentrifying neighborhoods are concentrated into a nearby set of declining neighborhoods.

Since 2000, Washington, D.C., suffered the most widespread low-income displacement of any major central city. In Washington, about 36 percent of population lives in areas that have experienced economic expansion with low-income displacement.



**Table 3: 2016 Population Distribution by Neighborhood Change Trajectory, 2000-2016  
(by central city)**

	Growth	Low-Income Displacement	Abandonment	Low-Income Concentration		Growth	Low-Income Displacement	Abandonment	Low-Income Concentration
Akron	0%	0%	9%	65%	Minneapolis	3%	6%	2%	21%
Anaheim	5%	8%	0%	8%	Nashville	2%	5%	1%	32%
Atlanta	7%	21%	1%	19%	New Orleans	2%	20%	10%	19%
Austin	5%	11%	0%	19%	New York City	4%	19%	1%	13%
Baltimore	2%	17%	5%	19%	Newark	6%	3%	6%	33%
Birmingham	3%	3%	16%	41%	Norfolk	5%	12%	1%	8%
Boston	5%	14%	1%	10%	Oakland	4%	13%	1%	18%
Boulder	0%	8%	0%	18%	Oklahoma City	6%	6%	2%	25%
Buffalo	1%	5%	9%	35%	Orlando	11%	2%	1%	33%
Charlotte	3%	2%	1%	30%	Philadelphia	2%	12%	4%	34%
Chicago	2%	9%	8%	34%	Phoenix	4%	2%	3%	40%
Cincinnati	1%	3%	11%	57%	Pittsburgh	0%	9%	7%	22%
Cleveland	2%	2%	24%	50%	Portland	2%	14%	0%	9%
Columbus	3%	4%	6%	43%	Providence	2%	14%	0%	13%
Dallas	4%	5%	3%	35%	Racine	1%	0%	5%	74%
Denver	6%	14%	0%	19%	Raleigh	5%	2%	2%	16%
Detroit	0%	0%	30%	56%	Richmond	6%	6%	0%	30%
Durham	3%	4%	3%	23%	Riverside	9%	10%	0%	10%
Fort Lauderdale	4%	9%	2%	20%	Sacramento	2%	8%	0%	30%
Fort Worth	5%	3%	1%	25%	Saint Louis	3%	14%	8%	23%
Hartford	8%	13%	3%	32%	Saint Paul	1%	1%	3%	37%
Houston	1%	11%	3%	27%	Saint Petersburg	3%	8%	0%	25%
Indianapolis	0%	1%	6%	51%	Salt Lake City	2%	10%	0%	21%
Jacksonville	0%	3%	4%	32%	San Antonio	4%	4%	0%	18%
Kansas City	4%	1%	8%	37%	San Diego	3%	16%	0%	9%
Las Vegas	4%	0%	2%	49%	San Francisco	6%	13%	0%	7%
Long Beach	2%	34%	0%	4%	San Jose	3%	3%	0%	20%
Los Angeles	6%	20%	1%	8%	Santa Ana	0%	18%	7%	19%
Louisville	1%	2%	3%	33%	Seattle	11%	14%	1%	5%
Memphis	0%	1%	9%	58%	Tacoma	3%	8%	0%	13%
Mesa	1%	1%	1%	57%	Tampa	6%	1%	0%	35%
Miami	12%	10%	0%	17%	Virginia Beach	2%	11%	0%	13%
Milwaukee	2%	2%	5%	52%	Washington D.C.	3%	36%	0%	8%

Brighter colors indicate a larger share of regional low-income population. Growth and displacement areas have experienced a large increase in non-low-income population and decrease in poverty rate. Abandonment and concentration areas have experienced a large increase in non-low-income population and increase in poverty rate.

Data: U.S. Census.

As highlighted above, central cities exhibit a greater variance in neighborhood change trends than regions as a whole. There are several potential explanations for this apparent discrepancy. First, as previously noted, neighborhood change is more common overall in central cities than in suburban areas. This suggests that, as a region evolves economically and demographically, its core is often the focus of that evolution.

Second, central cities vary widely in jurisdictional and geographic size. In some places, such as Jacksonville or New York City, a very substantial share of regional population lives in the central city. In other metros, like Hartford or Atlanta, only a small fraction of total population lives within the central municipality.

Whatever the cause, the differing trends experienced at the city and regional level has important implications for how the political system reacts to neighborhood change. After all, in most places entire metropolitan regions do not form coherent jurisdictional or political units that can react to problems. This complicates the ways in which policymakers can address trends like concentration and displacement.

As an illustrative example, consider the Atlanta region. The region overall does not face a severe displacement trend: only 3 percent of residents live in a neighborhood that experienced displacement since 2000, compared to 23 percent of residents living in neighborhoods that experienced low-income concentration. However, the city of Atlanta proper only accounts for a small fraction of the region, and in the city, displacement is indeed a severe problem, affecting neighborhoods where 21 percent of residents live, compared to the 19 percent who live in areas that underwent concentration.

A unified regional policy response to these observations should prioritize low-income concentration as the primary challenge facing the region. However, there is no regional entity capable of mounting such a response. Instead, the single largest regional political entity, the city of Atlanta, could be forgiven for focusing on an entirely different set of priorities, working to ameliorate the harms of both displacement and concentration.

Aligning local and regional priorities is a major political, policy, and legal puzzle, and beyond the ambit of this report. However, it is essential to acknowledge the limits of localism: neighborhood change does not end at a city's borders, and

changes inside a single unit of government, even one as expansive as a major city, are not necessarily reflective of the broader regional trend occurring outside that government's borders.

### **Neighborhood Change by Population Subgroups**

- Neighborhood change does not fall evenly on all demographic groups.
- The overall population of economically expanding areas is growing, but the overall low-income population is falling. In economically declining areas, that trend is reversed.
- People of color, especially black residents, are disproportionately likely to live in economically declining areas. The Hispanic population of economically declining areas is rapidly increasing, indicating increased segregation and concentration.
- The white population of economically declining areas is falling, indicating white flight.
- The white population and college-educated population of economically expanding areas is increasing.

The metrics in this report are all based off a single criterion: the number of low-income and non-low-income people in a census tract, defined as people below or above 200 percent of federal poverty line.

Of course, outside of this basic division, there are an array of other demographic characteristics differentiating the population, including other poverty indicators, race, education, age, family status, immigration status, and housing status. This section focuses on how neighborhood change is reflected across some of these other divisions.

As a preliminary matter, it should be noted that population subgroup analysis produces a vast amount of data, including geographically-specific data and comparative data. This section summarizes national trends. However, region- and city-level summaries and tabulations are also available for each of the 50 largest metropolitan regions. These are included in the regional reports, available on the Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity [website](#). Readers are encouraged to explore these tables for specific regions of interest, as the regional findings often differ substantially from the national findings.

Also attached to this report are two appendices, one focusing on regional comparisons and the other focused on central city comparisons. In each, changing exposure to economic expansion and decline is tabulated for all the population subgroups analyzed in this section, in a format that allows for quick regional and inter-city comparisons. These are intended to assist readers in forming accurate, holistic understanding of how the challenges faced by different groups vary across the nation.

The 50-metro summary is provided in Tables 4 and 5, which show how, in 2016, 23 different subgroups were distributed between economically expanding and economically declining neighborhoods. It also shows the net change in each subgroup since 2000 in each category of neighborhood. Table 4 utilizes the “strong model” described in Section II, while Table 5 utilizes the “weak model.” Taken together, they provide both a useful estimation of the impacts of strong neighborhood change and a liberal outer estimate of those impacts.

The overall population distribution here reflects previous findings, which showed that many more people live in places experiencing neighborhood economic decline than neighborhood economic expansion. As shown in Table 4, about 30 percent of overall metropolitan population lived in an area experiencing strong neighborhood change—8 percent in expanding areas and 22 percent in declining areas. Table 5 suggests that about 63 percent of metropolitan population lived in areas showing any indication of change at all. Once again, this exposure is tilted towards declining neighborhoods, which contained about 41 percent of population, compared to 22 percent in economically expanding areas.

Table 4: Strong Neighborhood Change Model  
2000-2016 NEIGHBORHOOD POPULATION CHANGE BY SUBGROUP (TOP 50 METROS)

Population Change by Subgroup in Neighborhoods Experiencing Strong Economic Expansion (Combined, Top 50 Metros)				
	2016 Share	2016 Total	Net Change Since 2000	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>8.1%</b>	<b>14,265,350</b>	<b>31.9%</b>	<b>+3,449,697</b>
<b>Low-Income</b>	<b>7.8%</b>	<b>4,191,331</b>	<b>-10.0%</b>	<b>-464,708</b>
<b>Poverty</b>	<b>8.5%</b>	<b>2,047,061</b>	<b>-9.5%</b>	<b>-214,340</b>
<b>Extreme Poverty</b>	<b>8.7%</b>	<b>929,607</b>	<b>-15.1%</b>	<b>-165,289</b>
<b>American Indian</b>	<b>9.9%</b>	<b>50,432</b>	<b>-1.6%</b>	<b>-821</b>
<b>Asian</b>	<b>9.2%</b>	<b>1,205,799</b>	<b>87.8%</b>	<b>+563,827</b>
<b>Black</b>	<b>8.7%</b>	<b>2,220,477</b>	<b>-1.5%</b>	<b>-32,937</b>
<b>Hispanic</b>	<b>10.7%</b>	<b>3,964,481</b>	<b>27.1%</b>	<b>+844,276</b>
<b>White</b>	<b>6.7%</b>	<b>6,423,116</b>	<b>44.1%</b>	<b>+1,966,784</b>
<b>College-Educated</b>	<b>9.2%</b>	<b>3,814,020</b>	<b>136.4%</b>	<b>+2,200,401</b>
<b>Non-College</b>	<b>7.7%</b>	<b>5,949,088</b>	<b>14.0%</b>	<b>+729,659</b>
<b>Families</b>	<b>7.6%</b>	<b>1,597,064</b>	<b>13.9%</b>	<b>+194,351</b>
<b>Families in Poverty</b>	<b>7.6%</b>	<b>250,091</b>	<b>-27.2%</b>	<b>-93,569</b>
<b>Non-Poor Families</b>	<b>7.6%</b>	<b>1,346,973</b>	<b>27.2%</b>	<b>+287,920</b>
<b>Single Mothers</b>	<b>7.8%</b>	<b>150,927</b>	<b>-24.3%</b>	<b>-48,573</b>
<b>Children (Under 18)</b>	<b>7.6%</b>	<b>3,127,607</b>	<b>11.6%</b>	<b>+324,946</b>
<b>Young Adults (18-34)</b>	<b>9.6%</b>	<b>4,067,660</b>	<b>32.1%</b>	<b>+988,938</b>
<b>Adults (35 to 64)</b>	<b>7.9%</b>	<b>5,511,487</b>	<b>43.0%</b>	<b>+1,657,689</b>
<b>Seniors (65 and up)</b>	<b>6.7%</b>	<b>1,558,596</b>	<b>42.8%</b>	<b>+467,233</b>
<b>U.S.-Born</b>	<b>7.7%</b>	<b>11,066,515</b>	<b>34.7%</b>	<b>+2,849,987</b>
<b>Foreign-Born</b>	<b>9.9%</b>	<b>3,198,835</b>	<b>23.1%</b>	<b>+599,493</b>
<b>Owner Units</b>	<b>6.5%</b>	<b>2,522,192</b>	<b>47.5%</b>	<b>+812,106</b>
<b>Renter Units</b>	<b>10.9%</b>	<b>2,751,702</b>	<b>22.9%</b>	<b>+512,767</b>
<b>Vacant Units</b>	<b>8.8%</b>	<b>578,192</b>	<b>63.8%</b>	<b>+225,196</b>

Population Change by Subgroup in Neighborhoods Experiencing Strong Economic Decline (Combined, Top 50 Metros)				
	2016 Share	2016 Total	Net Change Since 2000	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>22.0%</b>	<b>38,717,479</b>	<b>-2.8%</b>	<b>-1,121,700</b>
<b>Low-Income</b>	<b>32.9%</b>	<b>17,626,722</b>	<b>43.8%</b>	<b>+5,369,260</b>
<b>Poverty</b>	<b>34.5%</b>	<b>8,296,752</b>	<b>59.2%</b>	<b>+3,085,751</b>
<b>Extreme Poverty</b>	<b>33.8%</b>	<b>3,617,940</b>	<b>47.4%</b>	<b>+1,163,459</b>
<b>American Indian</b>	<b>25.2%</b>	<b>128,570</b>	<b>-21.7%</b>	<b>-35,702</b>
<b>Asian</b>	<b>15.6%</b>	<b>2,039,366</b>	<b>22.7%</b>	<b>+376,907</b>
<b>Black</b>	<b>34.5%</b>	<b>8,756,287</b>	<b>4.4%</b>	<b>+368,455</b>
<b>Hispanic</b>	<b>26.0%</b>	<b>9,641,401</b>	<b>41.5%</b>	<b>+2,828,956</b>
<b>White</b>	<b>18.0%</b>	<b>17,135,229</b>	<b>-21.7%</b>	<b>-4,755,777</b>
<b>College-Educated</b>	<b>13.8%</b>	<b>5,725,154</b>	<b>12.6%</b>	<b>+642,108</b>
<b>Non-College</b>	<b>25.4%</b>	<b>19,533,598</b>	<b>-2.8%</b>	<b>-553,073</b>
<b>Families</b>	<b>21.7%</b>	<b>4,551,121</b>	<b>-16.8%</b>	<b>-921,943</b>
<b>Families in Poverty</b>	<b>37.4%</b>	<b>1,229,735</b>	<b>49.3%</b>	<b>+405,951</b>
<b>Non-Poor Families</b>	<b>18.8%</b>	<b>3,321,386</b>	<b>-28.6%</b>	<b>-1,327,894</b>
<b>Single Mothers</b>	<b>38.7%</b>	<b>753,821</b>	<b>49.3%</b>	<b>+248,802</b>
<b>Children (Under 18)</b>	<b>22.7%</b>	<b>9,331,226</b>	<b>-11.4%</b>	<b>-1,205,795</b>
<b>Young Adults (18-34)</b>	<b>23.2%</b>	<b>9,797,536</b>	<b>-4.2%</b>	<b>-432,275</b>
<b>Adults (35 to 64)</b>	<b>20.9%</b>	<b>14,531,750</b>	<b>0.7%</b>	<b>+105,450</b>
<b>Seniors (65 and up)</b>	<b>21.8%</b>	<b>5,056,967</b>	<b>8.9%</b>	<b>+413,347</b>
<b>U.S.-Born</b>	<b>21.9%</b>	<b>31,471,073</b>	<b>-6.4%</b>	<b>-2,169,393</b>
<b>Foreign-Born</b>	<b>22.5%</b>	<b>7,246,406</b>	<b>16.9%</b>	<b>+1,047,767</b>
<b>Owner Units</b>	<b>19.5%</b>	<b>7,526,893</b>	<b>-13.7%</b>	<b>-1,195,951</b>
<b>Renter Units</b>	<b>26.1%</b>	<b>6,595,697</b>	<b>9.1%</b>	<b>+551,243</b>
<b>Vacant Units</b>	<b>28.7%</b>	<b>1,879,959</b>	<b>79.4%</b>	<b>+832,080</b>

Data: U.S. Census.

On net, population in strongly economically expanding tracts has grown by about 32 percent, or 3.5 million people, while population in strongly declining areas has dropped about 3 percent, or 1.1 million people.

Different population subgroups have faced very different trends, however. In 2016, poor or black residents were substantially more likely to be located in an area experiencing strong change than other groups. About 43 percent of both groups lived in areas of strong change. By contrast, the white and college-educated population was less exposed to strong change than the population at large, with only 25 and 23 percent, respectively, living in areas of strong expansion or decline.

Population change trends were also frequently reversed for subgroups. Although, on net, overall population fell slightly in strongly declining areas, the low-income population of those areas skyrocketed by 44 percent. The population in poverty grew even faster, by 60 percent, or 3 million individuals. Meanwhile, while overall population of economically expanding areas increased 32 percent, low-income and poverty population fell by 10 percent.



**Table 5: Weak Neighborhood Change Model**  
**2000-2016 NEIGHBORHOOD POPULATION CHANGE BY SUBGROUP (TOP 50 METROS)**

**Population Change by Subgroup in Neighborhoods with Any Indicators of Economic Expansion\* (Combined, Top 50 Metros)**

	2016 Share	2016 Total	Net Change Since 2000	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>21.8%</b>	<b>38,419,348</b>	<b>25.2%</b>	<b>+7,740,256</b>
<b>Low-Income</b>	<b>18.1%</b>	<b>9,669,864</b>	<b>-2.7%</b>	<b>-266,843</b>
<b>Poverty</b>	<b>18.9%</b>	<b>4,537,329</b>	<b>-0.3%</b>	<b>-12,524</b>
<b>Extreme Poverty</b>	<b>19.2%</b>	<b>2,060,280</b>	<b>-6.1%</b>	<b>-134,588</b>
<b>American Indian</b>	<b>22.0%</b>	<b>112,029</b>	<b>-5.6%</b>	<b>-6,673</b>
<b>Asian</b>	<b>25.6%</b>	<b>3,343,151</b>	<b>81.9%</b>	<b>+1,505,308</b>
<b>Black</b>	<b>18.6%</b>	<b>4,723,090</b>	<b>6.9%</b>	<b>+302,866</b>
<b>Hispanic</b>	<b>23.9%</b>	<b>8,844,885</b>	<b>33.5%</b>	<b>+2,221,049</b>
<b>White</b>	<b>21.3%</b>	<b>20,334,110</b>	<b>20.3%</b>	<b>+3,428,428</b>
<b>College-Educated</b>	<b>25.9%</b>	<b>10,742,766</b>	<b>80.8%</b>	<b>+4,801,626</b>
<b>Non-College</b>	<b>20.2%</b>	<b>15,520,500</b>	<b>11.3%</b>	<b>+1,573,007</b>
<b>Families</b>	<b>21.4%</b>	<b>4,484,982</b>	<b>10.3%</b>	<b>+418,817</b>
<b>Families in Poverty</b>	<b>17.1%</b>	<b>561,385</b>	<b>-17.5%</b>	<b>-119,244</b>
<b>Non-Poor Families</b>	<b>22.2%</b>	<b>3,923,597</b>	<b>15.9%</b>	<b>+538,061</b>
<b>Single Mothers</b>	<b>17.0%</b>	<b>331,702</b>	<b>-13.8%</b>	<b>-52,909</b>
<b>Children (Under 18)</b>	<b>21.1%</b>	<b>8,673,503</b>	<b>10.4%</b>	<b>+815,294</b>
<b>Young Adults (18-34)</b>	<b>22.9%</b>	<b>9,650,362</b>	<b>22.6%</b>	<b>+1,780,417</b>
<b>Adults (35 to 64)</b>	<b>22.0%</b>	<b>15,338,476</b>	<b>31.8%</b>	<b>+3,696,703</b>
<b>Seniors (65 and up)</b>	<b>20.5%</b>	<b>4,757,007</b>	<b>43.2%</b>	<b>+1,436,188</b>
<b>U.S.-Born</b>	<b>21.2%</b>	<b>30,580,271</b>	<b>24.8%</b>	<b>+6,085,983</b>
<b>Foreign-Born</b>	<b>24.3%</b>	<b>7,839,077</b>	<b>26.7%</b>	<b>+1,654,116</b>
<b>Owner Units</b>	<b>20.7%</b>	<b>7,986,353</b>	<b>28.5%</b>	<b>+1,770,182</b>
<b>Renter Units</b>	<b>23.9%</b>	<b>6,042,195</b>	<b>18.7%</b>	<b>+951,208</b>
<b>Vacant Units</b>	<b>20.6%</b>	<b>1,346,643</b>	<b>64.9%</b>	<b>+530,099</b>

**Population Change by Subgroup in Neighborhoods with Any Indicators of Economic Decline\* (Combined, Top 50 Metros)**

	2016 Share	2016 Total	Net Change Since 2000	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>40.8%</b>	<b>71,937,014</b>	<b>-0.9%</b>	<b>-640,905</b>
<b>Low-Income</b>	<b>51.3%</b>	<b>27,451,062</b>	<b>38.4%</b>	<b>+7,616,683</b>
<b>Poverty</b>	<b>52.4%</b>	<b>12,606,392</b>	<b>50.6%</b>	<b>+4,234,706</b>
<b>Extreme Poverty</b>	<b>51.6%</b>	<b>5,530,854</b>	<b>40.2%</b>	<b>+1,584,976</b>
<b>American Indian</b>	<b>41.6%</b>	<b>212,118</b>	<b>-21.8%</b>	<b>-59,156</b>
<b>Asian</b>	<b>34.8%</b>	<b>4,541,303</b>	<b>28.7%</b>	<b>+1,011,750</b>
<b>Black</b>	<b>50.8%</b>	<b>12,907,641</b>	<b>6.3%</b>	<b>+761,174</b>
<b>Hispanic</b>	<b>43.5%</b>	<b>16,121,202</b>	<b>41.6%</b>	<b>+4,738,676</b>
<b>White</b>	<b>38.0%</b>	<b>36,262,632</b>	<b>-16.8%</b>	<b>-7,323,515</b>
<b>College-Educated</b>	<b>33.2%</b>	<b>13,790,668</b>	<b>18.1%</b>	<b>+2,112,747</b>
<b>Non-College</b>	<b>44.5%</b>	<b>34,218,508</b>	<b>-2.3%</b>	<b>-792,466</b>
<b>Families</b>	<b>39.9%</b>	<b>8,354,229</b>	<b>-15.6%</b>	<b>-1,544,945</b>
<b>Families in Poverty</b>	<b>54.9%</b>	<b>1,806,525</b>	<b>39.5%</b>	<b>+511,915</b>
<b>Non-Poor Families</b>	<b>37.1%</b>	<b>6,547,704</b>	<b>-23.9%</b>	<b>-2,056,860</b>
<b>Single Mothers</b>	<b>56.1%</b>	<b>1,091,532</b>	<b>41.3%</b>	<b>+318,974</b>
<b>Children (Under 18)</b>	<b>40.6%</b>	<b>16,711,084</b>	<b>-11.5%</b>	<b>-2,180,340</b>
<b>Young Adults (18-34)</b>	<b>41.4%</b>	<b>17,444,903</b>	<b>-1.6%</b>	<b>-290,212</b>
<b>Adults (35 to 64)</b>	<b>40.0%</b>	<b>27,816,906</b>	<b>1.9%</b>	<b>+527,425</b>
<b>Seniors (65 and up)</b>	<b>42.9%</b>	<b>9,964,121</b>	<b>15.1%</b>	<b>+1,309,901</b>
<b>U.S.-Born</b>	<b>40.8%</b>	<b>58,659,100</b>	<b>-4.3%</b>	<b>-2,654,371</b>
<b>Foreign-Born</b>	<b>41.2%</b>	<b>13,277,914</b>	<b>17.9%</b>	<b>+2,013,596</b>
<b>Owner Units</b>	<b>39.5%</b>	<b>15,256,919</b>	<b>-8.9%</b>	<b>-1,482,423</b>
<b>Renter Units</b>	<b>44.1%</b>	<b>11,147,355</b>	<b>9.1%</b>	<b>+925,431</b>
<b>Vacant Units</b>	<b>46.0%</b>	<b>3,013,738</b>	<b>73.6%</b>	<b>+1,278,093</b>

\*The figures in the lower set of tables may include many neighborhoods with very slight demographic changes, and are especially sensitive to sampling error. These tables are best understood as depicting an aggressive outer estimate of population shifts, as compared to the estimates in the upper set of tables, which are more robustly observed.

Data: U.S. Census.

Some of this change may reflect a change in personal economic circumstances— individuals becoming poor or non-poor rather than moving across neighborhood boundaries. Nonetheless the overall effect is much the same: economic segregation where the less-affluent are concentrated into declining neighborhoods.

Moreover, there are also trends among other subgroups that are less fluid, like race. For example, while Asian population increased across both economically expanding and economically declining areas, that increase was much faster in the former than the latter—88 percent versus 22 percent. Hispanic population also increased across both categories of neighborhood, but the trend was reversed: the increase was lower in expanding areas than in declining areas, 27 percent versus 42 percent. Changes in black population in each category of neighborhood were less dramatic than some other groups, but the trend was the reverse of the overall population: a slight population decline in expanding areas and a slight increase in declining areas. It should be noted that these nonwhite racial subgroup trends vary widely in region-specific tabulations.

Subgroup data shows a particularly unambiguous trend among white residents. The white population of strongly expanding neighborhoods increase much more rapidly than population overall, by 44 percent. Meanwhile, white population of strongly declining neighborhoods dropped sharply, by 22 percent. This is a powerful indicator that the decades-long process of white flight is still underway in American cities, creating segregation and racial isolation in the poorest neighborhoods and building disproportionately white enclaves of affluence in places with economic growth.

On net, there is also a strong trend among college-educated residents. Although the proportion of residents with college degrees is increasing virtually everywhere, a hugely disproportionate share of that growth is taking place in strongly economically expanding neighborhoods, where the college-educated population has grown by 136 percent. By contrast, in strongly declining areas, the growth rate is less than one-tenth of that, at 13 percent.

The economic concentration of low-income people into strongly declining neighborhoods seems to have particularly impacted families with children. The number of families in poverty and single mothers in strongly declining neighborhoods has increased by about 49 percent since 2000. Meanwhile, on net, the number of families in poverty has fallen 27 percent in strongly expanding neighborhood—the fastest decline, and thus potentially the strongest displacement, experienced by any population subgroup.

Finally, while the U.S.-born population of strongly declining areas has fallen about 6 percent since 2000, the foreign-born population has increased more than 16 percent, perhaps reflecting an influx of immigration from Asia and Latin American nations.

In addition to population characteristics, changes in housing tenure were also tabulated. Homeownership units were somewhat less likely to be situated in a strongly changing area than population at large (26 percent versus 31 percent), while both rental and vacant units were more likely to be found in strongly changing areas (37 percent, in each case). Strongly expanding areas saw a rapid, 48 percent net increase in owner units, and a moderate, 23 percent increase in rental units. Strongly declining areas experienced a drop in the number of owner

units and a small increase in the number of rental units. Both neighborhood categories saw a large spike in the number of vacant units.

For the sake of completeness, Tables 6 and 7 tabulate exposure to strong neighborhood change by population subgroup within central city and suburban tracts, respectively. Although there are some small variations between these tables and the combined 50-metro tables above—e.g., within central cities, a greater proportion of most groups lives in a strongly changing tract—the overall trends closely mirror, in most cases, the trends in Tables 4 and 5. Readers are cautioned that this is not the case in region-specific data, and that many regions have powerfully divergent city and suburban trends. The region-specific reports included in this study separate out the central city and suburban trends for each region, revealing those differences where they do exist.

Tables 6 and 7 do contain indications of one process that is invisible in region-wide data: the trend towards black suburbanization. In both expanding and declining central city tracts, black population is falling; in both expanding and declining suburban tracts, black population is rising. This reflects a nationwide movement of black families to the suburbs, a process with important implications for neighborhood change, as it may result in significant population loss in historically segregated central-city neighborhoods.

**Table 6: Strong Neighborhood Change Model**  
**2000-2016 NEIGHBORHOOD POPULATION CHANGE BY SUBGROUP (CENTRAL CITIES, TOP 50 METROS)**

Population Change by Subgroup in Neighborhoods Experiencing Strong Economic Expansion (All Central Cities, Top 50 Metros)				
	2016 Share	2016 Total	Net Change Since 2000	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>14.4%</b>	<b>7,294,215</b>	<b>17.4%</b>	<b>+1,082,016</b>
<b>Low-Income Poverty</b>	<b>12.7%</b>	<b>2,581,528</b>	<b>-14.9%</b>	<b>-450,794</b>
<b>Extreme Poverty</b>	<b>13.2%</b>	<b>1,350,593</b>	<b>-14.8%</b>	<b>-234,695</b>
<b>American Indian</b>	<b>13.1%</b>	<b>20,315</b>	<b>-17.9%</b>	<b>-4,432</b>
<b>Asian</b>	<b>14.8%</b>	<b>639,599</b>	<b>56.6%</b>	<b>+231,041</b>
<b>Black</b>	<b>13.0%</b>	<b>1,511,084</b>	<b>-10.8%</b>	<b>-183,431</b>
<b>Hispanic</b>	<b>15.5%</b>	<b>2,135,799</b>	<b>10.4%</b>	<b>+200,567</b>
<b>White</b>	<b>14.3%</b>	<b>2,770,561</b>	<b>41.2%</b>	<b>+808,428</b>
<b>College-Educated</b>	<b>18.6%</b>	<b>2,174,325</b>	<b>128.0%</b>	<b>+1,220,574</b>
<b>Non-College</b>	<b>13.4%</b>	<b>2,981,898</b>	<b>-0.6%</b>	<b>-16,962</b>
<b>Families</b>	<b>12.8%</b>	<b>713,460</b>	<b>-6.8%</b>	<b>-51,911</b>
<b>Families in Poverty</b>	<b>11.6%</b>	<b>158,765</b>	<b>-33.6%</b>	<b>-80,244</b>
<b>Non-Poor Families</b>	<b>13.2%</b>	<b>554,695</b>	<b>5.4%</b>	<b>+28,333</b>
<b>Single Mothers</b>	<b>11.6%</b>	<b>99,232</b>	<b>-32.2%</b>	<b>-47,144</b>
<b>Children (Under 18)</b>	<b>12.3%</b>	<b>1,379,600</b>	<b>-9.7%</b>	<b>-147,527</b>
<b>Young Adults (18-34)</b>	<b>16.8%</b>	<b>2,435,186</b>	<b>27.5%</b>	<b>+525,370</b>
<b>Adults (35 to 64)</b>	<b>14.5%</b>	<b>2,750,638</b>	<b>27.3%</b>	<b>+590,030</b>
<b>Seniors (65 and up)</b>	<b>12.4%</b>	<b>728,791</b>	<b>19.0%</b>	<b>+116,148</b>
<b>U.S.-Born</b>	<b>14.0%</b>	<b>5,447,243</b>	<b>20.7%</b>	<b>+933,514</b>
<b>Foreign-Born</b>	<b>16.0%</b>	<b>1,846,972</b>	<b>8.7%</b>	<b>+148,538</b>
<b>Owner Units</b>	<b>11.9%</b>	<b>1,006,702</b>	<b>34.4%</b>	<b>+257,458</b>
<b>Renter Units</b>	<b>18.1%</b>	<b>1,919,162</b>	<b>18.8%</b>	<b>+303,526</b>
<b>Vacant Units</b>	<b>14.5%</b>	<b>331,114</b>	<b>47.1%</b>	<b>+106,035</b>

Data: U.S. Census.

Population Change by Subgroup in Neighborhoods Experiencing Strong Economic Decline (All Central Cities, Top 50 Metros)				
	2016 Share	2016 Total	Net Change Since 2000	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>26.8%</b>	<b>13,558,819</b>	<b>-4.2%</b>	<b>-598,610</b>
<b>Low-Income Poverty</b>	<b>36.4%</b>	<b>7,413,534</b>	<b>31.2%</b>	<b>+1,764,728</b>
<b>Extreme Poverty</b>	<b>37.3%</b>	<b>3,810,541</b>	<b>44.5%</b>	<b>+1,173,144</b>
<b>American Indian</b>	<b>36.7%</b>	<b>1,693,865</b>	<b>32.5%</b>	<b>+415,160</b>
<b>American Indian</b>	<b>31.1%</b>	<b>48,450</b>	<b>-25.1%</b>	<b>-16,238</b>
<b>Asian</b>	<b>20.1%</b>	<b>865,543</b>	<b>22.9%</b>	<b>+161,220</b>
<b>Black</b>	<b>39.3%</b>	<b>4,554,269</b>	<b>-6.5%</b>	<b>-318,314</b>
<b>Hispanic</b>	<b>28.4%</b>	<b>3,904,493</b>	<b>31.0%</b>	<b>+923,298</b>
<b>White</b>	<b>19.9%</b>	<b>3,841,554</b>	<b>-26.0%</b>	<b>-1,351,709</b>
<b>College-Educated</b>	<b>14.5%</b>	<b>1,698,645</b>	<b>11.4%</b>	<b>+173,618</b>
<b>Non-College</b>	<b>30.8%</b>	<b>6,838,837</b>	<b>-3.5%</b>	<b>-248,536</b>
<b>Families</b>	<b>28.8%</b>	<b>1,609,141</b>	<b>-18.2%</b>	<b>-357,330</b>
<b>Families in Poverty</b>	<b>41.1%</b>	<b>565,230</b>	<b>31.7%</b>	<b>+135,889</b>
<b>Non-Poor Families</b>	<b>24.8%</b>	<b>1,043,911</b>	<b>-32.1%</b>	<b>-493,219</b>
<b>Single Mothers</b>	<b>41.9%</b>	<b>358,836</b>	<b>30.3%</b>	<b>+83,469</b>
<b>Children (Under 18)</b>	<b>30.6%</b>	<b>3,448,811</b>	<b>-11.8%</b>	<b>-461,090</b>
<b>Young Adults (18-34)</b>	<b>25.5%</b>	<b>3,687,029</b>	<b>-5.6%</b>	<b>-218,012</b>
<b>Adults (35 to 64)</b>	<b>25.8%</b>	<b>4,901,216</b>	<b>0.9%</b>	<b>+42,209</b>
<b>Seniors (65 and up)</b>	<b>25.9%</b>	<b>1,521,763</b>	<b>2.9%</b>	<b>+43,117</b>
<b>U.S.-Born</b>	<b>27.5%</b>	<b>10,740,493</b>	<b>-7.6%</b>	<b>-877,563</b>
<b>Foreign-Born</b>	<b>24.4%</b>	<b>2,818,326</b>	<b>11.0%</b>	<b>+279,036</b>
<b>Owner Units</b>	<b>25.0%</b>	<b>2,111,218</b>	<b>-17.8%</b>	<b>-457,348</b>
<b>Renter Units</b>	<b>26.0%</b>	<b>2,752,108</b>	<b>6.1%</b>	<b>+158,477</b>
<b>Vacant Units</b>	<b>33.8%</b>	<b>771,612</b>	<b>82.7%</b>	<b>+349,334</b>

**Table 7: Strong Neighborhood Change Model**  
**2000-2016 NEIGHBORHOOD POPULATION CHANGE BY SUBGROUP (SUBURBS ONLY, TOP 50 METROS)**

Population Change by Subgroup in Neighborhoods Experiencing Strong Economic Expansion (All Suburban Tracts, Top 50 Metros)				
	2016 Share	2016 Total	Net Change Since 2000	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>5.6%</b>	<b>6,971,135</b>	<b>51.4%</b>	<b>+2,367,681</b>
<b>Low-Income Poverty</b>	<b>4.9%</b>	<b>1,609,803</b>	<b>-0.9%</b>	<b>-13,914</b>
<b>Extreme Poverty</b>	<b>5.0%</b>	<b>696,468</b>	<b>3.0%</b>	<b>+20,355</b>
<b>American Indian</b>	<b>5.0%</b>	<b>305,870</b>	<b>2.2%</b>	<b>+6,687</b>
<b>American Indian</b>	<b>8.5%</b>	<b>30,117</b>	<b>13.6%</b>	<b>+3,611</b>
<b>Asian</b>	<b>6.5%</b>	<b>566,200</b>	<b>142.6%</b>	<b>+332,786</b>
<b>Black</b>	<b>5.1%</b>	<b>709,393</b>	<b>26.9%</b>	<b>+150,494</b>
<b>Hispanic</b>	<b>7.8%</b>	<b>1,828,682</b>	<b>54.3%</b>	<b>+643,709</b>
<b>White</b>	<b>4.8%</b>	<b>3,652,555</b>	<b>46.4%</b>	<b>+1,158,356</b>
<b>College-Educated</b>	<b>5.5%</b>	<b>1,639,695</b>	<b>148.5%</b>	<b>+979,827</b>
<b>Non-College</b>	<b>5.4%</b>	<b>2,967,190</b>	<b>33.6%</b>	<b>+746,621</b>
<b>Families</b>	<b>5.8%</b>	<b>883,604</b>	<b>38.6%</b>	<b>+246,262</b>
<b>Families in Poverty</b>	<b>4.8%</b>	<b>91,326</b>	<b>-12.7%</b>	<b>-13,325</b>
<b>Non-Poor Families</b>	<b>5.9%</b>	<b>792,278</b>	<b>48.7%</b>	<b>+259,587</b>
<b>Single Mothers</b>	<b>4.7%</b>	<b>51,695</b>	<b>-2.7%</b>	<b>-1,429</b>
<b>Children (Under 18)</b>	<b>5.8%</b>	<b>1,748,007</b>	<b>37.0%</b>	<b>+472,473</b>
<b>Young Adults (18-34)</b>	<b>5.9%</b>	<b>1,632,474</b>	<b>39.7%</b>	<b>+463,568</b>
<b>Adults (35 to 64)</b>	<b>5.5%</b>	<b>2,760,849</b>	<b>63.1%</b>	<b>+1,067,659</b>
<b>Seniors (65 and up)</b>	<b>4.8%</b>	<b>829,805</b>	<b>73.3%</b>	<b>+351,085</b>
<b>U.S.-Born</b>	<b>5.4%</b>	<b>5,619,272</b>	<b>51.8%</b>	<b>+1,916,473</b>
<b>Foreign-Born</b>	<b>6.5%</b>	<b>1,351,863</b>	<b>50.1%</b>	<b>+450,955</b>
<b>Owner Units</b>	<b>5.0%</b>	<b>1,515,490</b>	<b>57.7%</b>	<b>+554,648</b>
<b>Renter Units</b>	<b>5.7%</b>	<b>832,540</b>	<b>33.6%</b>	<b>+209,241</b>
<b>Vacant Units</b>	<b>5.8%</b>	<b>247,078</b>	<b>93.2%</b>	<b>+119,161</b>

Data: U.S. Census.

Population Change by Subgroup in Neighborhoods Experiencing Strong Economic Decline (All Suburban Tracts, Top 50 Metros)				
	2016 Share	2016 Total	Net Change Since 2000	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>20.0%</b>	<b>25,158,660</b>	<b>-2.0%</b>	<b>-523,090</b>
<b>Low-Income Poverty</b>	<b>30.8%</b>	<b>10,213,188</b>	<b>54.5%</b>	<b>+3,604,532</b>
<b>Extreme Poverty</b>	<b>32.4%</b>	<b>4,486,211</b>	<b>74.3%</b>	<b>+1,912,607</b>
<b>American Indian</b>	<b>31.5%</b>	<b>1,924,075</b>	<b>63.6%</b>	<b>+748,299</b>
<b>American Indian</b>	<b>22.6%</b>	<b>80,120</b>	<b>-19.5%</b>	<b>-19,464</b>
<b>Asian</b>	<b>13.4%</b>	<b>1,173,823</b>	<b>22.5%</b>	<b>+215,687</b>
<b>Black</b>	<b>30.4%</b>	<b>4,202,018</b>	<b>19.5%</b>	<b>+686,769</b>
<b>Hispanic</b>	<b>24.6%</b>	<b>5,736,908</b>	<b>49.7%</b>	<b>+1,905,658</b>
<b>White</b>	<b>17.5%</b>	<b>13,293,675</b>	<b>-20.4%</b>	<b>-3,404,068</b>
<b>College-Educated</b>	<b>13.5%</b>	<b>4,026,509</b>	<b>13.2%</b>	<b>+468,490</b>
<b>Non-College</b>	<b>23.2%</b>	<b>12,694,761</b>	<b>-2.3%</b>	<b>-304,537</b>
<b>Families</b>	<b>19.2%</b>	<b>2,941,980</b>	<b>-16.1%</b>	<b>-564,613</b>
<b>Families in Poverty</b>	<b>34.7%</b>	<b>664,505</b>	<b>68.5%</b>	<b>+270,062</b>
<b>Non-Poor Families</b>	<b>17.0%</b>	<b>2,277,475</b>	<b>-26.8%</b>	<b>-834,675</b>
<b>Single Mothers</b>	<b>36.2%</b>	<b>394,985</b>	<b>72.0%</b>	<b>+165,333</b>
<b>Children (Under 18)</b>	<b>19.7%</b>	<b>5,882,415</b>	<b>-11.2%</b>	<b>-744,705</b>
<b>Young Adults (18-34)</b>	<b>22.0%</b>	<b>6,110,507</b>	<b>-3.4%</b>	<b>-214,263</b>
<b>Adults (35 to 64)</b>	<b>19.0%</b>	<b>9,630,534</b>	<b>0.7%</b>	<b>+63,241</b>
<b>Seniors (65 and up)</b>	<b>20.4%</b>	<b>3,535,204</b>	<b>11.7%</b>	<b>+370,230</b>
<b>U.S.-Born</b>	<b>19.8%</b>	<b>20,730,580</b>	<b>-5.9%</b>	<b>-1,291,830</b>
<b>Foreign-Born</b>	<b>21.4%</b>	<b>4,428,080</b>	<b>21.0%</b>	<b>+768,731</b>
<b>Owner Units</b>	<b>17.9%</b>	<b>5,415,675</b>	<b>-12.0%</b>	<b>-738,603</b>
<b>Renter Units</b>	<b>26.2%</b>	<b>3,843,589</b>	<b>11.4%</b>	<b>+392,766</b>
<b>Vacant Units</b>	<b>26.0%</b>	<b>1,108,347</b>	<b>77.2%</b>	<b>+482,746</b>